/31 cont./

865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

152 865 [762]

864 835 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/33 cont./

861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

[762] When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

[602] The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles.
[689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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/35 cont./

861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen
593 in some homes where the mother is continually beating the children, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to
[762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted,
[689] he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

/192 cont./

682 when a shot hits a person during hunting, or when a shot is fired accidentally at the moment the owner or someone else is cleaning a gun and in this way kills another, etc. Included in these cases we must note one that occurs very frequently when a man lends a gun. If an accident occurs which results in the death of a third person, that is, a homicide, the owner of the gun must help the man who caused the accident to pay for the death. If it is used to commit suicide, again it is the owner of the gun who must pay. For this reason the material objects that a person uses for [682] killing himself are punished. As the general custom is to hang oneself, the beam and the rope are burned at such a time; and if the act was done inside a dwelling, it is also burned, although in this case for another reason connected now with magic. In summary, then, we can say that homicide is considered as such without any excuses for those who commit it, directly or indirectly.

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682 762 Suicide brings punishment on the person who has provoked it, directly or indirectly. Very frequently young men commit suicide when their father, mother, or other relatives reprimand them or do not satisfy some whim. And girls do the same when they are sold in marriage by their uterine relatives without taking their wishes into account.

In this case those who gave cause for the suicide are held responsible. If it was the mother or some relative of hers, the father of the suicide demands compensation payment, or if the reverse -- if it was the father -- the mother with her relatives do the same. /193/

If a man should commit suicide because of unrequited love, when for example he asks to buy a girl and her relatives will not let him have her as his wife or she refuses his amorous attentions and in consequence he commits suicide, the claim for compensation payment for his death is made against the maternal relatives of the girl or against whoever refused to let him buy her.

/193 cont./

As the most important function of a wife is to take care of her husband, particularly his health, she must answer for it to his maternal relatives, if for some reason he commits suicide; she is considered guilty of his death, as well as guilty of not having been at his side to prevent it. We have information of men who committed suicide while they were drunk and their wives were absent for some very well-justified reason, and the husbands' maternal relatives made the wives responsible for their deaths because they said that it was their first and most important duty to avoid these tragedies by watching their husbands every moment while they were drunk.

If ill-treatment by the husband or other act for which he is responsible provokes his wife's suicide, her relatives present a claim for compensation payment against him as guilty of her death.

Anyone who by a slight, a joke, or an offense drives someone else to commit suicide is made responsible for the death and for this reason must pay for the criminal act.

Attempted suicide is also punished; the maternal relatives demand from the person who made the attempt an adequate indemnity for having broken a law, because he has no right to spill his own blood, the bond common to the other members, nor to dispose of his life, which belongs to the consanguineous group, nor to cause the group the pain of his death.

Guajiro law considers the uterine relatives of the expectant mother responsible for the life of the child about to be born, and if the child dies they are made responsible and must pay the husband, if the cause of the death was a wrong movement made by the mother during the delivery, or noncompliance with the midwife's instructions, etc. But if the child is the first child, who must be born in the home of the expectant mother's maternal relatives, and the father has not taken her there and the woman does not receive adequate attention and the baby dies, the blame is placed on the husband, who must pay for the death of his son to his wife's maternal relatives.

If a child dies while the father is absent, and the mother has not complied with her obligation to give him immediate news

[23 cont.]

*756 787 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

751 *756 787 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 823 762 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 775 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 768 672 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the
682 victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
628 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones, etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[77 cont.]
762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

762 769 795 The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

795 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 795 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13



could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them.

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

*Case IV:* A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A.

*Case V:* A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

*Case VI:* A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there. B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

*Case VII:* A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13



inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13



585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[281] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
543 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced
[278] to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[574] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten
[762] or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13



761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanurn*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety
762 measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer every-
682 where and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appearing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

### WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight